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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 355

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SF
SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA - AN OVERVIEW

1. SUMMARY: THE NATIONAL PARTY'S STRATEGY FOR IMPLEMENTATION
OF ITS SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT POLICY REMAINS A COMBINATION
OF CONCESSION AND COERCION. SINCE THE TOWNSHIP UPHEAVALS
OF 1976, THE GOVT HAS MOVED TO STRENGTHEN ITS INTERNAL
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SECURITY APPARATUS AND TO ENHANCE ITS FLEXIBILITY UNDER THE
LAW TO DEAL WITH DISSIDENTS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. THE
DETENTIONS AND BANNINGS OF OCT 19 MANIFESTED THE
GOVT'S INTENTION TO SUPPRESS THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT
AND TO SILENCE MOST OF THE BLACK LEADERS ADVOCATING FUNDAMENTAL
CHANGE. IN THE NEAR FUTURE, IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT THE
AUTHORITIES WILL FURTHER SHARPEN THE COERCION PRONG OF THE

STRATEGY.

2. BUT VORSTER AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE WELL AWARE OF THE ENORMOUS FORCES WHICH THEY ARE ATTEMPTING TO QUELL AND OF THE DRIFT TO INCREASED INTERNATIONAL ISOLATION AND RACIAL STRIFE. THE LEADERSHIP SEEMS TO RECONGNIZE THAT IF THEY ARE TO GAIN TIME WITH WHICH TO IMPLEMENT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, THEY MUST NOT ONLY SILENCE THE LEADERS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS BLUT ALSO REMOVE SOME OF THE HUMILIATIONS OF THE PAST AND MAKE SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND EVEN SOME POLITICAL REFORMS THAT WILL RENDER THE SYSTEM MORE PALATABLE. THE NEW PROPOSED CONSTITUTION, FOR EXAMPLE, IS AN EFFORT TO COOPT THE COLOREDS AND INDIANS WHILE RETAINING WHITE CONTROL AND THE PRINCIPLE OF SEPARATENESS. ALTHOUGH BOTH THESE COMMUNITIES HAVE TO DATE REJECTED THE PROPOSAL, GOVT LEADERS SAY THEY ARE WILLING TO MAKE CHANGES TO RENDER IT MORE MEANINGFUL. MEANWHILE, VARIOUS COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTIES ARE CURRENTLY STUDYING REFORMS REGARDING LOCAL POLITICAL AUTONOMY FOR BLACKS, IMPROVEMENT IN BLACK EDUCATION, POSSIBLE MOVES TO MAKE HOMELANDS MORE VIABLE AND PALATABLE, AND STEPS TO REDUCE DISCRIMINATION IN THE LABOR FIELD. IN ADDITION, THERE IS AN APPARENT RECOGNITION THAT STABILITY WILL ALSO DEPEND ON A GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE URBAN BLACK. FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE DEFENSE FORCES, PARTICULARLY WITH

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REGARD TO THE INTEGRATION OF THE COLOREDS AND INDIANS, COULD ALSO HAVE AN IMPACT ON RACE RELATIONS. AND FINALLY, NEW STEPS ARE LIKELY TO AMELIORATE THE WEB OF SEGREGATION PRACTICES COMMONLY KNOWN AS PETTY APARTHEID.

3. WHILE IT IS HAZARDOUS TO MAKE PREDICTIONS, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS, AND POSSIBLY LONGER, THE SAG WILL BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES SUFFICIENTLY TO RETAIN CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS, INCLUDING DECISIONS ON THE NATURE AND PACE OF ANY CHANGES TO BE MADE. THUS THE SAG WILL DISPENSE REFORMS ON A TACTICAL BASIS ATTEMPTING TO MAXIMIZE THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL IMPACT INTERNATIONALLY AND WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHILE MINIMIZING THE PRACTICAL EFFECT ON WHITE POWER AND PRIVILEGE AS WELL AS THE DIVISIVE IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL PARTY. AS A RESULT, DIALOGUE WITH GENUINE BLACK LEADERS SEEMS UNLIKELY OVER THIS PERIOD.

END SUMMARY.

INTRODUCTION

4. THE EMBASSY HAS UNDER PREPARATION A SERIES OF REPORTS ON THE PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS. THIS SERIES WILL INCLUDE SEPARATE ANALYSES ON THE PROSPECTS FOR ALTERATION IN GOVT POLICY IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING FIELDS: PETTY APARTHEID; HOMELAND POLICY, BLACK EDUCATIO, URBAN BLACK POLICY; RACIAL POLICIES IN THE SADP; ECONOMIC SITUATION OF BLACKS; AND LABOR POLICIES.

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5. CONCURRENTLY, WE INTEND TO ANALYZE THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND INFLUENCES OF THE VARIOUS SECTORS OF AFRIKANER SOCIETY, PARTICULARLY AS THEY MAY AFFECT FUTURE CHANGE. WE WILL BE LOOKING AT THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND ROLES OF AFRIKANER FARMERS, BUSINESSMEN, INTELLECTURLS,

AND MILITARY AND POLICE OFFICERS. IN ADDITION, WE WILL PREPARE AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH AND THE BRODERBOND, A STATISTICAL PROFILE OF THE AFRIKANER, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THE MECHANICS OF POLICY-MAKING IN THE NATIONAL PARTY. FINALLY, IN LOOKING AT THE MAJOR PRESSURES FOR CHANGE, WE WILL ASSESS THE CHANGING DYNAMICS OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT, ESPECIALLY IN REGARD TO PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL AND VIOLENT PROTEST. WE WILL ALSO LOOK AT THE LIKELY EFFECT ON THE SAG OF FUTURE INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES AND THE ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S NEIGHBORS. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES AN OVERVIEW OF THE BROAD PARAMETERS OF POSSIBLE CHANGE OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE YEARS AND THE FACTORS AFFECTING THEIR SCOPE WITHIN THESE CONFINES.

PARAMETERS OF CHANGE

6. IN ASSESSING CHANGES THAT THE NATIONAL PARTY MIGHT CONSIDER OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS, THE VIEWS OF VERLIGTE (LIBERAL) NATIONALIST POLITICIANS AND LEADING INTELLECTUALS DEFINE THE MAXIMUM RANGE OF REFORMS THAT COULD REALISTICALLY BE ADOPTED BY THE GOVT. WHEN NATIONAL PARTY VERLIGTES SPEAK OF CHANGE THEY ARE GENERALLY TALKING OF ADJUSTMENTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. THE ONE EXCEPTION IS THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND THE ROLE OF INDIANS AND COLOREDS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. MANY OF THE VERLIGTES, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, ACADEMICS AND EDITORS, NOT ONLY ACCEPT IN THEORY COLOREDS AND INDIANS AS CITIZENS OF SOUTH AFRICA, BUT THEY ARE PREPARED TO GRANT THEM A MEANINGFUL IF CONTROLLED ROLE AND VOICE IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS. EVEN IN THIS AREA, HOWEVER, THE MOST LIBERAL NATIONAL PARTY POLITICIAN WOULD NOT AGREE TO A SYSTEM THAT WOULD ALLOW COLOREDS AND INDIANS TO COMBINE WITH THE WHITE OPPOSITION OR TO EXERCISE A VETO OVER THE DESIRES OF THE WHITE POPULATION. THUS, IF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE CONSTITUTION OVER THE NEXT CONFIDENTIAL

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YEAR LEAD TO ANY MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS-- AND THIS IS BY NO MEANS CERTAIN-- IT WILL PROBABLY NOT EXTEND BEYOND REAFFIRMING THE ORIGINAL UNDERSTANDING THAT COLOREDS AND INDIANS WOULD GRADUALLY BE PROVIDED A ROLE IN NATIONAL MINISTRIES AT THE EXECUTIVE AND BUREAUCRATIC LEVELS, AND THAT LEGISLATION IN NATIONAL AS DISTINCT FROM

WHITE, COLORED OR INDIAN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS WOULD ORIGINATE
IN THE NEW PROPOSED JOINT CABINET COUNCIL.

7. FOR BLACKS (AFRICANS), VERLIGTE REFORMS ARE ENVISIONED
STRICTLY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT,
THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF WHICH IS THAT WHITE SOUTH
AFRICA CANNOT SHARE POLITICAL POWER WITH BLACKS. SOME
OF THE MOST LIBERAL VERLIGTES INTELLECTUALLY SEE SEPARATE
DEVELOPMENT NOT AS AN END BUT A METHOD AND THEY RECOGNIZE
THAT AT BEST IT IS AN OPEN-ENDED POLITICAL PROCESS THAT
WILL CONTINUE TO EVOLVE, PERHAPS ULTIMATELY TOWARD
LIMITED POWER-SHARING IN A FEDERAL OR CONFEDERAL FRAME-
WORK. BUT MINISTERS AND OTHER LEADING NATIONALISTS
HAVE CONFIRMED TO US THAT NOWHERE WITHIN THE PARTY, THE
GOVT, OR NATIONALIST INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES IS
ANY REAL THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO HOW SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT
MIGHT EVOLVE TOWARD A SHARED POLITICAL ORDER.

8. ALL NATIONALISTS BELIEVE THAT EVEN TOKEN POWER-
SHARING WITH BLACKS WITHIN A UNITARY STATE WOULD
ULTIMATELY LEAD TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE AND INEVITABLY
TO A RADICAL DICTATORIAL REGIME THAT WOULD DISPOSSESS
THE WHITE POPULATION. MINISTER OF INFO CONNIE
MULDER, RECENTLY APPOINTED TO TAKE OVER THE NEWLY-
NAMED PORTFOLIO OF PLURAL AFFAIRS AND DEVELOPMENT, TOLD
THE AMBASSADOR THAT HE BELIEVED IT WAS POSSIBLE TO
NEGOTIATE A SHARED SOCIETY WITH PRESENT MODERATE AND CONSERVATIVE
BLACK LEADERS THAT WOULD PROVIDE SUITABLE PROTECTION
FOR THE WHITE POPULATION. BUT, MULDER SAID, ANY SUCH
ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE TEMPORARY AND BLACK RADICALS
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WOULD EVENTUALLY SEIZE POWER AND CHANGE THE RULES.
CONSISTENT WITH THIS LINE OF REASONING, MULDER SAW THE
TURNHALLE SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA AS A TEMPORARY ONE THAT
WAS BOUND TO BE REPLACED AND LEAD EVENTUALLY TO AN
EXODUS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICAN WHITES TO THE REPUBLIC.

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9. THUS, THE REFORMS AND POLICY CHANGES AFFECTING
BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS THAT ARE LIKELY TO EMERGE OVER
THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO WILL BE INTENDED TO:

--DAMPEN INTERNAL DISCONTENT WITHIN THE BLACK
COMMUNITY;

--REDUCE THE CLIMATE FOR VIOLENCE, INCLUDING
TERRORISM AND EVENTUALLY GUERRILLA WAR;

--PROVIDE MORE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS A STAKE
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IN STABILITY;

--REINFORMCE THE PROCESS OF HOMELAND DEVELOPMENT
WHILE MAKING IT MORE PALATABLE AND VIABLE; AND
--REDUCE INTERNTIONAL CRITICISM OF SAG POLICY.

10. EVEN WITHIN THIS LIMITED FRAMEWORK, HOWEVER, A
NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT REFORMS ARE POSSIBLE INCLUDING
SOME THAT WOULD TOUCH UPON BASIC TENENTS OF THE SYSTEM.
TWO CABINET MINISTERS, FOR EXAMPLE, (PIK BOTHA AND
HENDRICKS SCHOEMAN) LAST YEAR CALLED FOR ABOLITION
OF THE MIXED MARRIAGES AND IMMORALITY ACTS. ABOLITION
OF THESE ACTS WOULD HAVE MORE THAN ROMANTIC IMPLICATIONS

AS IT WOULD AFFECT THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF SEPARATE SCHOOLING AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS. LIKEWISE, THE GRANTING OF EFFECTIVE TITLE TO BLACK HOMEOWNERS IN THE TOWNSHIPS, A REFORM WHICH THE GOVT ALREADY CLAIMS WILL BE FORTHCOMING, COMES CLOSE TO VIOLATING THE PRECEPT THAT BLACKS IN THE TOWNSHIPS ARE TEMPORARY SOJOURNERS IN THE WHITE AREAS. REFORMS OF THIS SORT ALTHOUGH STILL WITHIN THE BROAD CONFINES OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT WOULD TEND TO ERODE THE RATIONALE AND CONSISTENCY OF THE SYSTEM.

11. CONSEQUENTLY, EVEN WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, WE CAN EXPECT PULLING AND TUGGING WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARTY OVER HOW FAR TO GO IN MAKING ADJUSTMENTS AND REFORMS. MANY NATS WILL OPPOSE ANY CHANGE THAT SEEMS TO VIOLATE EVEN INDIRECTLY THE APARTHEID PRINCIPLE; AT THE OTHER END OF THE SPECTRUM, SOME VERLIGTES WILL BE WILLING TO SKIRT THE IDEOLOGICAL EDGE, AND IN REGARD TO INDIANS AND COLOREDS, TAKE THE PLUNGE INTO LIMITED POWER-SHARING.

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12. THE PARTY'S DECISIONS ON CHANGE WITHIN THE LIMITED FRAMEWORK OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT WILL BE SHAPED IN PART BY:

--VORSTER'S PERSONAL STYLE AND INCLINATIONS;

--THE POLITICAL BALANCE IN THE CABINET AND THE NAT CAUCUS;

--THE POPULAR BASE OF THE NATIONAL PARTY AND THE VIEWS OF OPINION-MAKERS AND INTEREST GROUPS; AND

--THE STRENGTH OF THE ECONOMY.

VORSTER

13. ALTHOUGH SOME OBSERVERS SPECULATE THAT VORSTER WILL RETIRE WHEN THE NEW CONSTITUTION COMES INTO EFFECT, MOST BELIEVE THAT HE WILL ASCEND TO THE NEW PROPOSED EXECUTIVE POSITION OF STATE PRESIDENT. IN ANY EVENT, VORSTER'S INFLUENCE ON THE NATURE AND PACE OF CHANGE WILL BE ENORMOUS HOWEVER LONG HE REMAINS IN OFFICE. AS A POLITICAL LEADER, VORSTER MOVES STEP BY STEP ONLY AFTER CAREFULLY TESTING THE GROUND. HE DOES NOT THINK OF POLICY IN BROAD CONCEPTUAL TERMS BUT VIEWS ISSUES PRAGMATICALLY IN TERMS OF SHORT TO MID-TERM IMPACT.

THE CABINET AND CAUCUS

14. AS IN THE PAST, VORSTER AND HIS CABINET WILL MAKE THE MAJOR DECISIONS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS WILL

RUBBER STAMP THEM. BUT, LIKE HIS PREDECESSORS, VORSTER IS MUCH CONCERNED TO MAINTAIN AFRIKANER UNITY AND IN MAKING HIS DECISIONS HE WILL CAREFULLY WEIGH THE GRASS ROOTS REACTIONS. THE PARLIAMENTARY CAUCUS IS THE FIRST LEVEL AT WHICH THIS REACTION IS TESTED. AS A RESULT OF THE RECENT ELECTION, THE NUMBER OF

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VERLIGTES IN THE NAT MP CAUCUS OF 134 MEMBERS HAS INCREASED, BUT ESTIMATES VARY FROM 20 TO AS MANY AS 40. WHILE THE VERLIGTES ARE STILL A RELATIVELY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF THE CAUCUS, SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THEY NOW OUTNUMBER THE EXTREME RIGHT-WING WHO RESIST ALMOST ANY CHANGE IN THE STATUS QUO. THE MAJORITY OF MPS IN BETWEEN THESE TWO WINGS, WHILE BASICALLY VERKRAMPTE, WILL PROBABLY FOLLOW THE PARTY LEADERSHIP

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ON THE ISSUES OF REFORM.

15. A REFLECTION OF VORSTER'S CAUTION AND HIS DESIRE TO MAINTAIN PARTY UNITY IS THE NEW CABINET LINE-UP ANNOUNCED JANUARY 25 (CAPE TOWN 120). ESSENTIALLY, THE CABINET BALANCE BETWEEN VERLIGTES AND VERKRAMPTES REMAINS UNCHANGED, ALTHOUGH THE ESSENTIALLY CONSERVATIVE BUT PRAGMATIC CONNIE MULDER EMERGES WITH A REINFORCED POWER BASE.

THE POPULAR BASE

16. IN THE NOVEMBER 30 ELECTIONS, VORSTER RECEIVED THE MANDATE HE SOUGHT FROM THE WHITE POPULATION INCLUDING APPROXIMATELY ONE-THIRD OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING VOTE (77 PRETORIA 6535). SOME OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT THESE RESULTS MARK THE TRANSITION OF THE NATIONAL PARTY TO A PARTY OF WHITE RATHER THAN AFRIKANER NATIONALISM. BUT, THE SCANT NUMBER OF ENGLISH PARLIAMENTARIANS AMONG THE ELECTED 134 NAT MPS (3 OR 4), AND OF ENGLISH-SPEAKERS AMONG THE IMPRESSIVE 500,000 CARD-CARRYING NATIONAL PARTY MEMBERSHIP, SUGGESTS THAT IF SUCH A TRANSITION IS TAKING PLACE IT IS IN AN EMBRYONIC STATE. NOTABLY, VORSTER CHOSE NOT TO ADD ANOTHER ENGLISH-SPEAKER TO HIS CABINET, WHICH CONTAINS ONLY ONE SUCH MINISTER (HORWOOD, MINISTER OF FINANCE). MOREOVER, MOST OF THE NATIONAL PARTY'S NEW ENGLISH-SPEAKING VOTERS ARE RELATIVELY CONSERVATIVE SUPPORTERS OF THE DEFUNCT UNITED PARTY, AND IN SOME RESPECTS ARE AS VERKRAMPTES ON RACIAL ISSUES AS THE AFRIKANER, IF NOT MORE SO.

17. THUS, VORSTER'S ELECTION MANDATE WAS NOT A SANCTION FOR CHANGE, BUT PRIMARILY AN ENDORSEMENT OF RESISTANCE
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TO "FOREIGN INTERFERENCE," MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER, AND PURSUIT OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. NEVERTHELESS, THE POLITICAL BASE OF THE NATIONAL PARTY HAS BROADENED SOMEWHAT OUTSIDE ITS NARROW AFRIKANER CONFINES, AND THIS DEVELOPMENT TOGETHER WITH THE VERY SIZE OF VORSTER'S POPULAR VICTORY, HIS HUGE PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY, AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF HIS ASCENDING TO THE PROPOSED EXECUTIVE PRESIDENCY WILL GIVE HIM GREATER FLEXIBILITY TO INTRODUCE WHATEVER CHANGES HE DESIRES.

INTELLECTUALS, INTEREST GROUPS, AND THE OPPOSITION.

18. AFRIKANER INTELLECTUALS, PARTICULARLY ACADEMICS AND NEWSPAPER EDITORS, WILL REINFORCE AND STIMULATE THE VERLIGTE POLITICIAN'S CALL FOR CHANGE. THE HEAD OF THE BROEDERBOND, GERRIT VILJOEN, IS FAR IN FRONT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY IN CALLING FOR REFORMS TO MAKE SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT MORE VIABLE. VILJOEN, FOR EXAMPLE, ADVOCATES A MAJOR EFFORT TO EQUALIZE EDUCATION. LIKEWISE, NOW THAT THE ELECTION IS OVER, WILLEM DE KLERK, THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL PARTY ORGAN, DIE TRANSVALER, IS AGAIN EMPHASIZING IN HIS EDITORIALS THE NEED FOR A "NEW DISPENSATION" THAT WILL BRING PEACE AND JUSTICE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SOUTH AFRICA'S "MULTI-NATIONAL," AS DISTINCT FROM MULTI-RACIAL, POLITICAL STRUCTURE. WHILE VERLIGTE INTELLECTUALS INCLUDING EVEN VILJOEN AND DE KLERK HAVE LITTLE DIRECT VOICE IN POLICY-MAKING, THEY CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE IN WHICH THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OPERATES.

19. THE REFORMED CHURCH HAS ALWAYS BEEN A CONSERVATIVE FACTOR IN WHITE SOUTH AFRICA AND IS LIKELY TO REMAIN SO, BUT SMALL RIPPLES OF DISSENT ON MORAL GROUNDS SUCH AS THAT RECENTLY EXPRESSED BY A CALVINIST GROUP AT POCHETSTROOM, CONTRIBUTE MORE THAN THEIR POPULAR STRENGTH WOULD SUGGEST TO THE AMALGAM OF PUBLIC OPINION. IN CONTRAST TO THE BROAD AND SUBJECTIVE IMPACT OF INTELLECTUALS AND THE CHURCH, INTEREST GROUPS SUCH AS

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BUSINESS, THE BUREAUCRACY, THE MILITARY, FARMERS AND THE SECURITY APPARATUS, AFFECT DECISIONS ON CONCRETE ISSUES, WHICH OFTEN CONTRIBUTE MORE THAN MAJOR POLICY DECISIONS TO THE ACTUAL COURSE OF CHANGE OR THE ABSENCE OF IT.

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20. IN THE COMING YEARS, THE NEW OFFICIAL OPPOSITION IN PARLIAMENT, THE PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY, WILL ADVOCATE POLICIES COUNTERPOLAR TO THOSE OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE PRESS WILL CONTINUE TO DEMAND BASIC POLITICAL CHANGES. ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT WILL SCORN THEIR ADVICE, PRESSURE FROM THESE SOURCES WILL TO A MARGINAL EXTENT FURTHER SPUR THE REGIME TO MAKE ITS OWN POLICIES MORE WORKABLE.

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21. NEVERTHELESS, DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE WHITE POLITICAL STRUCTURE, WHETHER VERLIGTE NATIONALIST, INTEREST GROUP ORIENTED, OR LIBERAL OPPOSITION, ARE NOT THE DECISIVE FORCES FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE DECISIVE ELEMENTS REMAIN BLACK RESISTANCE IN ALL ITS FORMS AND PRESSURES FROM THE OUTSIDE. THE INFLUENCES OF PRESSURE GROUPS WITHIN THE WHITE SYSTEM ONLY HELP TO SHAPE THE GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPETUS FOR CHANGE FROM THESE TWO QUARTERS.

22. THE ESSENTIAL GOVERNMENT RESPONSE TO PRESSURE FROM THE BLACK POPULATION IS TO CLAMP DOWN ON POLITICAL ACTION BUT ALSO TO GIVE MORE WEIGHT TO HOW IT MIGHT REDUCE DISCONTENT. LIKEWISE, IN DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE, THE SAG ALSO HAS A DUAL RESPONSE: ON THE ONE HAND, DEFIANCE

OF FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND ENHANCEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMIC AND MILITARY SELF-SUFFICIENCY; AND ON THE OTHER, DEMONSTRATION OF A PATTERN OF INTERNAL REFORMS THAT WILL STRENGTHEN THOSE WITHIN THE WEST WHO OPPOSE A HARDLINE STAND AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

CONCLUSIONS

23. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THE NATS WILL AGREE TO LIMITED POWER-SHARING WITH INDIANS AND COLOREDS, OR HOW FAR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP MAY BE PREPARED TO GO IN REFORMS AFFECTING BLACKS WITHIN THE NARROW LIMITS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. VORSTER HIMSELF PROBABLY DOES NOT KNOW THE ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS. THE NATURE AND THE RATE OF CHANGE EVEN WITHIN THESE LIMITED PARAMETERS WILL BE DETERMINED NOT ONLY BY THE INTERACTION OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES, BUT ALSO BY A NUMBER OF IMPONDERABLES INCLUDING: CRISES
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ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD; DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA; CHANGES OF GOVERNMENT IN WESTERN COUNTRIES; AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THE CONSEQUENCES OF TACTICAL AND LIMITED REFORMS COULD ALSO BE UNPREDICTABLE. CONCESSIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, IN CONSOLIDATION OF THE HOMELANDS AND AUTONOMY FOR URBAN BLACKS, ALTHOUGH RATIONALIZED AS PROMOTING SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, COULD PRODUCE UNFORESEEN REACTIONS AMONG SUFFICIENT NUMBERS OF CONSERVATIVE AFRIKANERS TO CAUSE VORSTER TO PULL BACK. ON THE OTHER HAND, THEY COULD PROVIDE NEW PLATFORMS FOR BLACK PRESSURES ON THE REGIME.

24. WHILE IT IS HAZARDOUS TO MAKE PREDICTIONS, IT SEEMS LIKELY THAT OVER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE YEARS, AND POSSIBLY LONGER, THE SAG WILL BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES SUFFICIENTLY TO RETAIN CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS, INCLUDING DECISIONS ON THE NATURE AND PACE OF CHANGES TO BE MADE. THUS THE SAG WILL DISPENSE REFORMS ON A TACTICAL BASIS ATTEMPTING TO MAXIMIZE THEIR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL IMPACT INTERNATIONALLY AND WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHILE MINIMIZING THE PRACTICAL EFFECT ON WHITE POWER AND PRIVILEGE AS WELL AS THE DIVISIVE IMPACT ON THE NATIONAL PARTY. AS A RESULT, DIALOGUE WITH GENUINE BLACK LEADERS SEEMS UNLIKELY OVER THIS PERIOD; AND IN IMPLEMENTING THE CHANGES AND REFORMS IT HAS IN MIND, THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH RELATIVELY COMPLIANT "LEADERS" OF ITS OWN CHOOSING.

25. IN SUM, ALTHOUGH THE PROSPECTS ARE LIMITED, THE NATIONALIST LEADERSHIP APPEARS TO RECOGNIZE THAT

REALITIES WILL NOT ALLOW A PASSIVE DEFENSE OF THE
STATUS QUO. THEY SEEM TO PERCEIVE THAT IF THERE IS ANY
HOPE OF SALVAGING THEIR BASIC OBJECTIVE OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT,
THE LAAGER MUST KEEP MOVING. THUS, OVER THE NEXT TWO TO THREE
YEARS WE CAN EXPECT A SUCCESSION OF ZIG-ZAG ADJUSTMENTS AND
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ALTERNATIONS OF RACIAL POLICIES AS THE NATIONALIST REGIME
ATTEMPTS TO COUNTER, HEAD-OFF OR DAMPEN THE ARRAY OF PRESSURES
BUILDING UP AGAINST THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.
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